101 132 182 particular region is that some tribes habitually live in forests while others habitually live in sabanas, grassy plains amid the forests. This distinction may accompany or induce definite cultural differences even between tribes that are 131 closely allied racially and linguistically. The Kamarakotos, like the Taure- 133 panes, are sabana Indians.[1] They live in sabanas in the midst of surrounding forests, in a series of valley bottoms about 400 to 500 meters in elevation. They always live near but practically never in the forests and strongly prefer relatively flat valley bottoms, seldom penetrating into the mountains even temporarily. Until taken up by white explorers there is no memory or legend of any of them ever climbing Auyán-tepúi or any of the other real mountains 132 around their valleys. In these valleys frost is, of course, quite unknown and the days are always warm enough for clothes to be unnecessary for warmth but are seldom disagreeably hot. The nights are usually chilly and make sleeping indoors preferable. There is little seasonal variation of temperature, but there [22] are the usual well-defined rainy and dry seasons of the tropics. As in most of Venezuela, the rainy season is "winter," when there is little activity in travel, hunting, or agriculture, and the dry season is the active time.

12/ 178 [17] Recently subject, like all the Indians, to growing Venezuelan[2] influence, the Kamarakotos yet retain practically all the pre-Columbian culture of this area in readily recognizable and relatively unmodified form. This makes them an almost ideal group for study from this point of view and it also makes their study of much greater value than might appear from the small size of this one tribe. As a type study it is a concrete, unified, but broadly characteristic example of the sort of culture that once prevailed over most of Venezuela and that still prevails over an enormous area of that country. Such "civilized," "Venezuelan," or "European" influence as does appear in this tribe adds to, rather than subtracting from, its importance and interest. This influence lends itself to clear analysis and it also typifies a widespread process and one of the greatest social and economic importance.

114 Studies of this sort have been relatively so rare in Venezuela that an observer can be sure that almost anything he observes is important and worth publishing as long as it is accurately reported and intelligently interpreted. There has, it is true, been a long series of reports on Venezuelan Indians and certainly no depreciation of these studies is intended. Some of the early colonists and missionaries left very valuable accounts, irreplaceable because of their first-hand records of things now vanished. It goes without saying, however, that these were not unprejudiced or skilled observers and that their information was not gathered in a scientific way or integrated with anthropology in general, a science that hardly existed at that time. Other and ethnologically more accurate and sophisticated travelers, like Humboldt and Schomburgk, have since added many more and, on the whole, better data of the same sort. It is necessary to mention only the names of Cordero, Salas, Ernst, Tavera-

1/A 2/A [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 – Analyst]

precisely tools, steel needles should perhaps be added to this list. Hammers and saws were unknown before our visit. Nails were unknown in their ordinary use but most women had one which they used for a sort of crocheting (see "Textiles"). There are also a few recently acquired steel picks used in mining.

No strictly native tools are now in use, if one excepts the casual use of wooden clubs and sharpened sticks. The essential steel tools were introduced by trading far in advance of white penetration in this region and are now old in the tribe, to the point that all memory of analogous native tools is lost. The working of stone is an unknown art now, and judging from Brazilian tribes less well equipped with steel, as well as from the few archaeological remains known from Venezuelan Guayana, the use of stone was never highly developed. Pre-Columbian implements were apparently mostly of wood and bone, supplemented by stone axes,[125] and a more extensive use of fire than at present.

Cooking.

The principal objects necessary to prepare casave have been mentioned under "Food Preparation." They are the grater, press, t[illegible]h, sieve, and puitari. Most households have two troughs, a relati[illegible]le one, called moru, for casave meal, and the more finished watea for making kachiri. Both are hollowed sections of logs. For the moru the log is split in half and one section simply hollowed. For the watea the log is unsplit but a deep excavation is made in one side and the ends are carved so as to leave stout projecting handles (see Fig. 27). Favorite woods for these troughs are waidawan-yɛ' and kopei-yɛ'[2] (see "Vocabulary").[Λ] While the kachiri is maturing, the watea is usually covered with a slab of bark.

Several of the baskets, listed together below, are used in the preparation and serving of food.

The primitive and still the common cooking vessel is a clay pot, o.ina. These are very simple and without any decoration, painted or molded, unless an occasional series of three or four nubbins on the outside below the rim can be so designated.[126] Only two basic patterns were seen, with considerable variations in size and proportions. The commoner type is wider than deep, with a flaring rim below which is a constricted neck, followed by the greatest diameter at about the middle of the depth. Below this, the pot is nearly conical but the bottom has a small flat or slightly concave surface. It will thus stand alone although unstable. The other pattern, which is rare, is deeper than wide, essentially ovoid with the lower end of smaller radius and the upper, big, end with an unflaring collar around the mouth (Fig. 28).

Although so simple, these pots are well made, smooth and almost as perfectly circular as if turned on a wheel (which, of course, is unknown). They are made by hand, the base modeled from a lump of clay and the sides then

125, 126 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analyst]
[Λ] [see vocabulary on p. 69, category 116 - Analyst]

535 Some dances, especially the parichara, require special ornaments or costumes. The parichara-pon, men's costume for this dance, consists of a diadem, aro[9], and a shirt, imaripadai, made of maripa leaves. The women, who otherwise are always bareheaded, wear for this dance a headband of woven cotton, inimo-katsa[9] (literally only "twisted fine cotton twine"), from the back of which projects a streamer with cotton tassels or puffs of down (Fig. 33 E). In another dance, warepan, the participants are said to be draped with cloth, but we did not see this and the description was so vague that I have no clear idea of the costume, nor have I found a description of it among related tribes although all of them apparently have this dance.

301 Back ornaments of various sorts seem formerly to have been typical of
● 178 the central Caribs, but for some reason they are now dying out, at least in some regions, even though other types of native ornaments are as popular as ever or more so. I did not see or hear of any back ornaments among the Kamarakotos.

Tattooing and Painting.

304 Tattooing is known and is occasionally practiced but it is not now very
[169] popular and most members of the tribe are not tattooed.[137] The pigment is a mixture of soot scraped from cooking pots, ainatoron, and wild honey, worked in, spot by spot, with a sliver of wood (or palm leaf rib). A steel sewing needle is now sometimes used if available. The mark left is a somewhat bluish black.
[531] The patterns are not symbolic (consciously at least) or indicative of any social status; any individual can use any design that suits his fancy, and this is true also of painted designs. The tattooed designs do not cover any large area and are usually simple, often merely a spot or cross on each cheek. In exceptionally complex cases, several lines and spots may be made around the mouth (see Fig. 34). Koch-Grünberg has shown that hooked lines around the mouth are typical, but not universal, among Taurepán women (see 1923, Vol. III, Plate 12), as we also observed, and that it also occurs among the neighbors of that Arekuna tribe, but we did not observe this motif, either painted or tattooed, among the Kamarakotos.

302 Unlike tattooing, face — and to a lesser extent body — painting is universal among the Kamarakotos. Some individuals, especially among the boys and the more coquettish women, are usually painted; others, especially the more sedate men, paint only for dances and other social occasions; but all paint themselves at some times. No one uses a pattern consistently, but on the contrary all show considerable ingenuity in varying the pattern.

302 Soot and white clay, tauwa, are used for painting, especially for dances,
388 but the usual paints are blue-black and red vegetable dyes. The blue-black
824 paint, karōi, is the well-known Genipa dye, called "caruto" in colloquial

[Text continues on p. 157]

137 [see footnote on p. 323, category 116 — Analysis]

*285 171 [128] As regards baskets, this classification is based on that of Roth (1924) with some modification and omission of a few non-Kamarakoto minor subdivisions.

Allied Indians, including the Taurepánes, make a wide variety of mats, trays, and sack- or bag-like baskets by plain plaiting, especially from separated strips of one or two moriche leaves, left attached to the midrib (Fig. 54). Koch-Grünberg illustrates typical Taurepán specimens and Roth illustrates many from British Guiana and gives exhaustive details of their construction. Such basketry, the materials for which are everywhere and require almost no preparation, is very quickly and easily made and can serve almost any purpose to which basketry is put among these tribes (the only important exceptions are presses and sieves), but it is crude, relatively impermanent, and esthetically unsatisfactory and has only speed and ease of manufacture to recommend it. It is the lazy man's basketry and it speaks well for the Kamarakotos that they make almost no use of it. They are, of course, capable of such plaiting and *285 can produce it on order, but they do not like it or ordinarily use it. Aside from large door mats, for which this is the best material and technique, I saw no pieces of plain plaited work actually in use among them and only one, a wakawa', that had been made by them for their use, and this had been aban- [178] doned. In marked contrast, the Taurepánes, at least in the vicinity of the [297] mission where native skill seems to be rapidly degenerating, make and use much plain plaited basketry.

The large mats used primarily to close doors at night and secondarily as floor mats and even as sunshades are plaited from two pinnate leaves of palms such as the kunwada. The midribs are laid together to form one edge of the mat and the pinnae are plaited together, usually by single one-over-two twilling, and their small ends braided into an edge for the other side.

The one really native plain plaited Kamarakoto basket seen was a wakawa', which is used in exactly the same way as an akai'. It is made of two split moriche (kwai) leaves, the stems projecting at the upper corners of the back. Back and sides are plaited in one-over-two twill and the ends of the strands braided into loops at the lower corners, then into a lower rim and finally into a median braid up the front (part away from the person carrying), end- [482] ing freely (see Fig. 55). A back thong is tied to the stems as a head strap.

Turning to more elegant types of basketry, the common mat, o. olori (Fig. 56 C), is made of manare, the commonest basketry fiber, and notwith- [171] standing its simplicity is usually carefully and handsomely made. They are square and are identical with what Roth calls the Akawai fan (indeed he notes that these occur among the Arekunas and are by them also used as mats). They are of closed twilled woven plaiting, constantly one-over-three except at points on the diagonals, edges, and center where variations are required by the pattern. Their peculiarity is that the strands in the two directions are really the same, each strand doubling at the edge and returning into the

[p. 214]

SOCIAL CULTURE

Organization

648 The country of the Kamarakotos is in the State of Bolívar, District Piar,
[131] of which the capital is Upata. No one disputes these attributions or the territorial and civil authority of the corresponding Venezuelan officials, the Indians themselves being agreeably submissive to Venezuelan authority as far as they
648 are aware of it. In fact, however, no effort has ever been made to extend
643 Venezuelan law or customs to them, no governmental agency is regularly in contact with them, and there are no local officials beyond the fact that Alejo
● [178] Calcaño's de facto authority in the tribe is officially recognized. Since he was regularly made tribal chief, or cacique, by the Indians themselves, this flavor of legality does not alter the fact that the Indian tribal organization, such as it is, is intact and that they are still living in a state of virtually complete independence with no reference to any laws or customs but their own.

571 The social organization among most of the Indians of this broad region
171 is very loose, with few formal offices or ceremonies. The Caribs in general
178 seem seldom to have had any very elaborate or rigid form of government and the great simplicity of the society of those of this region may be correlated with their living in small, rather isolated family groups and with the lack of necessity, in recent years, for uniting and organizing for any important cooperative undertaking, such as war.

592 The social unit is the family group, consisting of all the persons living
621 at one place. This may include more than one married man with his family and if so the two or more natural families that fall into the single Kamarakoto social family unit are frequently but not necessarily related. For instance, at Uruyén there are two adult males with families, one of whom is married to the sister of the other. They live in different houses but constitute, in the Kamarakoto sense, a single family group. Quite unrelated persons may, with

Marriage

58
178 Like some other customs, marriage among the Kamarakotos seems to be in course of modification in two directions: by the simplification or omission of old elements, social custom once having been both more complex and more rigid than it is now, and by a tendency, encouraged by the more "progressive" men, to approximate Venezuelan customs as far as these are known. Neither of these trends is, however, as yet strong enough markedly to have modified Kamarakoto society. Thus there is a definite feeling that polygamy and what are, by other standards, incestuous unions are not to be encouraged, but both are still common, and, as illustrating the other trend, bride-purchase as an essential requisite has been abandoned, but clear vestiges of it survive.

585 Marriage in a Venezuelan legal sense is, of course, non-existent. There is no authority or register for civil marriage and no priest for religious marriage.
581 Nevertheless it is proper to speak of marriage and not, as a somewhat stiff-
[588] spined student in British Guiana has done, merely of "the cohabitation of male and female." More casual cohabitation certainly occurs but it is clearly distinguished, even by the Indians, from marriage, a union which is by intention permanent and in which the social and economic considerations are at least as strong as the sexual. The fact that the ceremonies and formalities in vogue in civilized communities are omitted does not alter the fact that this is true marriage in all proper senses of the word.

584 The initiative in marriage may be taken by any of the parties concerned, the man, the woman, and the woman's parents. The man's parents are apparently not considered to be interested parties. Marriage does not take place without consent of the bride and normally the consent of her parents, or at least
583 of her mother, is likewise required. Presents may be given to the bride's parents,
584 and especially to her mother, by the prospective groom, but I was assured that this is by way of persuasion and to promote good feeling and not a prerequisite
[179] to the obtaining of the woman. Nevertheless, this probably is a vestige of the formerly widespread, probably universal, custom of bride-purchase. The purchase commonly took the form of personal service to the bride's father, and a typical example of this occurs in the Kamarakoto legend of Maichak, but this custom has largely been dropped. The groom, naturally well disposed toward the bride's parents, may voluntarily assist them but is never, I was told, obliged
[562] to do so. The repeated emphasis on the bride's mother, rather than her father, is also peculiar and is significant of the relatively high status of women in the tribe.

585 There are no ceremonies or formalities of any sort. When the parties are agreed, the bride and groom simply start living together.

595 The Kamarakotos are polygamous, that is, polygynous. There was some
177 reticence in supplying information as to numbers of wives, an indication of

461 would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself. Among
465 the Indians themselves the employment of labor is not uncommon and is paid
[474] either by labor in return or by goods, such as baskets or other common objects of trade. For instance one man may definitely employ another (outside his household — those in the household are of course obligated to help freely) to help erect his house and in return will do an equivalent amount of work for the man employed or will give him an equitable amount of food, drink, or articles of trade. This practice contains the germs of definite class differentiation into employees and laborers, but such differentiation has not at all occurred as yet.
[556] Generally speaking, there is no pronounced difference in wealth between different households and no one man is much more likely to be an employer than an employee.

Crime and Punishment.

173 According to present statements, the ancient penal code of the tribe, if
673 an indefinite and unwritten customary handling of the problem of crime can be
[681] so called, recognized basically only one crime, that of being hopelessly undesirable, and one punishment, death. Judgment as to the undesirability of a
[682] member of the tribe was based on the commission of antisocial actions, among
[685] which unjustified murder, violation of fishing rights, and habitual thievery
173 were specifically mentioned. A household might take matters into its own
692 hands, but this was considered undesirable and the regular, one might say the
643 truly legal, procedure was to lay the complaint before the cacique who judged
[627] its accuracy and gravity, but apparently without holding anything resembling
[696] a formal hearing or trial. If he condemned the criminal, he assigned the duty of executing him to any members of the tribe, such as the male complainants, and the sentence was carried out without further formality as soon as opportunity presented.

674 At present, the Indians say, crime is so nearly unknown that no regular
[681] system of punishment is required. It is easy to believe that serious crime is
[152] extremely rare as the amity of the Kamarakotos is amazing. Even when they
[273] were violently drunk no quarreling was seen, still less any attempts at physical injury. They are, however, human and it is incredible that no crime ever is
[178] committed. From answers to hypothetical questions as to what would be done if a crime should occur, it is evident that the old code is still considered natural and just and I have no doubt that it would be, and probably is, still applied if
685 occasion arises. Specifically, it was stated that unprovoked murder and serious
[682] violation of fishing rights merit death and that this should be administered un-
[696] der direction of the cacique but might well be undertaken by the injured house-
[627] hold on its own initiative. Theft, on the other hand, is now considered theoretically (and probably also in practice although no specific instance could be

Typical hunting magic with a
224 maraka and a song-spell appears in the Legend of Maichak on another page
[773] (the episode of the second magic implement, stolen by Maichak from an armadillo). It is reasonable to assume that this represents magic once really used by mortals, but it is merely inherited by the Kamarakotos as part of the story and is not used by them. They do employ two very curious but typically Carib
[824] magic means of increasing proficiency in hunting. One of these is to insert a cord of twisted moriche fibers into one nostril and to pull it out through the
[304] mouth. The other is to scarify the skin of the arms and then to rub in a crushed
[824] plant, called kumi, which is sometimes especially grown for this purpose. Our hunters ruefully admitted that none of the Kamarakoto hunting magic is really very effective.

General Religious Ideas.

773 Most of the myths, including the several that together make up the story of Maichak as given in this report, abound in unnatural and supernatural events and beings. To this extent, as well as to the extent that they embody explanations of natural phenomena and of creation, they include ideas usually related to religion. It would, however, be misleading to suppose that they form or assume the existence of any coherent or fixed body of religious doctrine. They are simply stories, fairy tales if one wishes, in which the non-natural is taken for granted.

778 There is firm belief in the existence of spirits, mostly inimical, of whom Piaima is typical and is the most important. Piaima and the kanaimaton are still very much in the Indians' minds. Various other spirits are believed to exist but are seldom thought of and few of the Indians can even name any of them.

771 Such simple theology as the tribe may have possessed seems largely to have
[178] broken down and to have been forgotten except as it has a practical bearing on
[262] their lives, which means except as it relates to illness and misfortune. Prayer,
[267] or any form of communication with the supernatural, seems to be unknown except as already suggested for the piaches.

In this rudimentary and probably degenerate system, misfortune is adequately explained by kanaima. Evil and sin do not appear to be considered supernatural or unnatural and there is no evident moral or ethical relationship of religion to their lives, which undoubtedly goes far to explain (or at least is correlated with) their carefree, happy, and, in a sense, sinless lives. They do not have any burden of original sin to bear. Felicity is considered a normal state for which no thanks are due to powers on high. I could not learn that they have any planting or harvest gods or ceremonies, which seems curious in an agricultural people.

775 No clear-cut statement of indigenous doctrine regarding the soul and life after death could be obtained, the usual statement being that "we don't know

Burial.

764 Burial customs are usually very revealing regarding religious beliefs and while those of the Kamarakotos, to the extent that I know them, are less so [123] than usual, they are best mentioned here. Since we were fortunate in that none [124] of the Indians died during our stay, my acquaintance is based on examination of graves[176] and statements of the Indians, checked and weighed as to their [178] reliability. Here the "progressive" policy of a few leaders is having a definite effect and it is necessary carefully to distinguish old custom from present tendencies.

766 A toʔ-esaʔ (head of a household group) is still often buried in his house and probably was invariably so interred in former times. Thus the former owner is buried in the abandoned dwelling at Uruyén and I have indicated his grave on the plan (Fig. 6A). This grave is built up with sticks and mud so that it projects about 50 cm. above the ground and must extend about an equal depth below the surface. The exposed superstructure is rectangular and about one meter square in plan. The body inside is said to be in a crouching position on its haunches, which is concordant with the otherwise peculiar form of the grave. [768] No one but the toʔ-esaʔ is buried in a house and since the house is always abandoned when its master dies anyway, no one lives in a house containing a grave. [769] There is, however, no apparent fear of this grave (or any other) or of the house, which is freely entered if occasion arises.

764 Persons other than a toʔ-esaʔ were not buried in houses but in the open nearby, each inhabited place usually having a patch of sabana that serves as a cemetery, although nothing but the presence of the graves distinguishes it. Everyone was formerly buried in a crouching position, but not in urns or baskets. [178] Now burial in the supine position is common, but this reflects the "progressive" influence. Only one body was, or is, placed in each grave. Sometimes items of personal property are buried with the body but this is neither usual nor obligatory. [768] Most personal property continues in use by other members of the household or, if not immediately needed, is abandoned and may be taken by any comer. Graves outside the house, like that described in a house, were formerly lined and roofed with sticks and mud so that dirt piled on top did not touch the body, but they did not generally protrude above the ground. This lining or roofing is still sometimes provided, but is no longer invariable. Some of the old houses with graves were burned, but this seems to have been rather a casual act or a mere accident from firing the sabanas than a ceremonial duty and certainly is not considered necessary.

765 178 It was formerly the custom to dig up the bones after an interval of about a year, clean them, and keep them in a chest or basket, but this custom is said to have been entirely abandoned long since and we saw no evidence of it.

176 [See footnote on p. 328, category 116 — Analyst]

868 Children generally follow much the same occupations as their elders of
857 the same sex, beginning by playing that they are doing so, as our children
"play house," and ending by performing the actual work as they become capa-
524 ble of it. Their playthings, too, are almost invariably small replicas or imita-
[868] tions of objects used by their elders. Thus the first toy of a small boy is com-
monly an improvised bow, with which he "plays Indian," as a white boy might
(Fig. 79). Some of the boys show great ingenuity in making imitations of
weapons, tools, etc.[181]

The Kamarakotos make cat's-cradles, but I did not attempt to collect
[171] these. I saw none not already recorded from the Maiongkis or Akawais (see es-
114 pecially Roth, 1924, whose elaborate compilation of these string-figures in-
cludes all that I saw among the Kamarakotos).

Mythology

773 Like all Indians, the Kamarakotos have an extensive body of myths and
● [78] legends. It is probable, however, that these are already dying out to some ex-
tent, since few of the younger members of the tribe seemed to have much knowl-
edge of them or to take much interest in them except as casual stories. Un-
[24] doubtedly, a great many are still accurately known, but our time permitted
the textual record of only one.[182] This is a typical, representative example
and serves excellently to illustrate the characteristics of Kamarakoto mythology
and its probable sources and relationships.

539 Rigid accuracy and authenticity may be claimed for the text here given,
126 despite the linguistic and other difficulties. It was told to me by Antonio
128 Montesdeoca during four sessions in March, 1939. Antonio gave the story not
[115] only from his own memory but also from the collected versions of numerous
other members of the tribe, several of whom were present at each session and
who were carefully consulted on all doubtful points. The story as a whole was
translated into Spanish by Antonio, with passages also given in Kamarakoto by
him and by others present. I recorded it in English and then read it back, in
Spanish, section by section, to Antonio who carefully corrected the slightest
[538] deviation from the meaning of the Kamarakoto text.[183] The Kamarakoto text
itself is not verbally memorized and varies with the teller, but its sense is in-
variable and this procedure guarantees that this sense is fully retained in the
present version.

The Story of Maichak.[184]

539 Maichak was an Indian who lived a long time ago in what we now call
Kamarata. At that time, men lived for centuries and centuries. When Maichak

181-184 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]

[#269]

THE OLD AND THE NEW

177 The Indians are most interesting, from many points of view, for the sur-
178 vivals in their culture of aboriginal objects and customs, but it would be a mistake to think of these entirely indigenous elements as the real and true Indian culture of today and to study them only from that point of view, rejecting later modifications as irrelevant or solely as intrusions. The Kamarakotos as they exist today are subject like all of us to ever changing influences and have a culture that is integrally theirs, wherever its elements came from, and that is compounded, as ours is, of a mixture of older and newer parts. Indeed the mixture of such diverse elements in their culture is in itself interesting and instructive. The fact that they are now observed in the very process of transition from primitive culture to what we believe to be advanced culture makes their study more, and not less, interesting than would be that of a tribe showing no European influence, if such a tribe existed.

Cultural Contacts

174 Although we know virtually nothing of the history of this particular tribe
177 before the present generation, it is possible to infer the general course of their cultural contacts with some probability. Elements that were not developed directly or indirectly under European influence are usually readily recognizable. In some cases there is room for argument, such, for instance, as the use of square shelters which I believe to be indigenous but some students do not. There are not many such cases and they do not obscure the general facts. These aboriginal elements may be considered representative of a single culture level basic for the tribe as we see it today. Of course this culture itself evolved and is a mixture of elements developed at different times and by different tribes, diffused in varying patterns, the overlap of which in this precise region gave the

177 for years over the painful overland route of ordinary Indian trade. They show
123 still other and often desirable things in use. They give an example of an alien and perhaps apparently more desirable way of life. In general they enlarge horizons very suddenly.

Cultural Stratification

●178 A result of these successive waves of innovations is to produce a sort of cultural stratification on three distinct and many less distinct or transitional levels. A few concrete examples will suggest the general nature of this stratification.

	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
Fire making.	Fire drill.	- (total replacement)	Flint and steel.	- (very incomplete incipient replacement)	Matches.
Weapons.	Blowgun.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
	Bow and arrow.	- (survival)	Steel arrowheads.	- (survival)	No further change.
		- (completely new introduction)	Firearms.	- (slow change by introduction of newer weapons evolved elsewhere)	Firearms, slowly replacing primitive weapons which still strongly survive.
Tools.	So totally lost that their very nature is uncertain.	- (total replacement)	Knife, machete, ax.	- (survival)	No essential change.
Fishing.	Poison, nets, traps.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
	Wooden fishhooks.	- (total replacement)	Steel hooks.	- (survival)	No essential change.
Male costume.	Loincloth.	- (survival)	Modification by use of trade goods.	- (very incomplete incipient replacement)	Trousers.

	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
Female costume.	Apron.	- (survival)	Modification by use of glass beads.	- (survival)	No change.
				- (new introduction)	Dresses, supplementing and not replacing the aboriginal costume.
Cooking.	Clay pots and gourds and calabashes.	- (survival)	No change.	- (very incomplete incipient replacement)	Enamelware, bottles, etc.
Foodstuffs.	Various native foods.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
		- (new introduction)	Banana, sugar cane, and a few others, supplementing, not replacing, aboriginal foods.	- (survival)	No change.
Cane press.		- (purely native invention, following colonial introduction of cane)	Cane press.[231]	- (survival)	No change.
Domestic animals.	Dog.	- (survival)	Possibly slight change of race.	- (survival)	No change.

[231 See footnote on p. 334, category 116 - Analyst]

	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
		- (new introduction)	Chickens.[232]	- (survival)	No change.
Musical instruments.	Flageolet.	- (survival)	No change.[233]	- (survival)	No change.
	Either no drum at all or one of somewhat different pattern.	- (introduction or modification)	Two-headed drum with X or V cord stretchers.	- (survival)	No change.
Buildings.	Round, elongate house.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
	Square shelters.[234]	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
				- (new introduction)	Mud-sealed square "calabozos."
Fabrics.	Plaited cotton fabrics. (baby-slings, etc.)	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change, except slight replacement by trade cloth.
	Woven fabrics (for loin cloths, etc.)	- (survival)	No change. (Next modification may have begun on this level.)	- (extensive but not quite complete replacement)	Trade goods.
Ornaments.	Necklaces of seeds, etc.	- (survival with addition)	Glass beads and seeds, etc.	- (survival)	Very slight change by addition of silver coins, etc.

232-234 [See footnotes on p. 334, category 118 - Analysis]

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	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
Burial.	Temporary burial in crouching position, bones later removed and kept in baskets.	- (modification)	Permanent burial in crouching position.	- (incomplete modification)	Permanent prone burial.
Trade.	Indian trade of Indian products.	- (retention with complication)	Addition of three-handed trade with European products for Indian use included.	- (survival with modification)	Similar trade intensified and new products (gold, balatá) for European use added.

178 Changes in thought and habits, except as reflected in these more material changes, can hardly be tabulated although they are of at least equal importance. Among the Kamarakotos, as compared with the Caribs in general as known today and from early records, some such changes seem to be a slackening or blurring of more clear-cut older beliefs and customs. Thus one can hardly avoid the impression that their system of religious belief and practice was once more extensive and more definite in phases not related to medicine. It is a reasonable inference that the social dances once had a ritual element now [177] quite lost, that the maraka-rattle once had magical uses, etc. It might be believed, a priori, that such changes show European influence, but as regards this tribe there is no evidence that this is the case. It is, indeed, more probable that the rather few modifications of this sort are spontaneous and represent evolution on the aboriginal level. At most, it may be true that the general modification of Indian life in recent years, such as the lessening of the necessity or likelihood of native warfare, has had some influence in this direction.

Other and more definable changes in Kamarakoto culture that fall within a social, as opposed to a material, category appear almost without exception to be extremely recent, within the last few months and years. They are so barely incipient and have as yet had so little real influence on the tribe that they must be considered rather as harbingers of a possible future than as actual features of present culture.

Factors of Replacement and Supplement

177 178 A brief review of the apparent causes of material cultural stratification and the factors governing its outcome is instructive regarding the present and suggestive regarding the future. In the first place, most of the innovations evidently fall into one of these three categories:

1. Materials adaptable to native forms without essential modification of these forms.
2. Objects that offer a new way of performing functions already adequately performed on the aboriginal level.
3. Objects that introduce new functions, not performed on the aboriginal level or there performed on an essentially different basis.

In the first category are to be placed steel as used in arrowheads, glass beads as used in aprons and necklaces, and trade cloth as used in loincloths (not dresses). Innovations of this sort change techniques, but they have no important influence on aboriginal culture as a whole and merely modify but do not replace native objects.

In the second category fall such things as firearms (with the same functions as blowguns and bows), flint and steel or matches (same function as the fire-

177 drill), steel cutting implements (same functions as wood, bone, and stone implements supplemented by fire), steel fishhooks (same function as wooden hooks), enamelware and bottles (same functions as pottery and gourds), banana and cane (same function as aboriginal foodstuffs), and domestic fowl (same function as native wild birds). These can definitely replace native objects and hence do or may have a profound influence on material culture. They have the potentiality, not as yet much developed in this tribe, of modifying social culture in various directions, such as giving more leisure or creating greater dependence on trade. Such influence is, however, indirect. These innovations are acceptable mainly for the reason that they do not require any immediate, direct change in native modes of life.

Among the Kamarakotos there are as yet very few innovations that belong in the third category, evidence that their culture is still almost purely aboriginal despite the visible European influence. I am at a loss to cite any clear-cut example indubitably falling into this category except the increasing use of clothing European in general model. When they do come, innovations of this sort frequently do not merely modify aboriginal culture; they tend to destroy it and replace it by something different. Even when their effect is less drastic, it is more profound and has deeper social implications than does that of either of the first two sorts of innovations. The most important elements that might be placed in this third category are new ideas and habits of thought. It has been shown that the Kamarakotos have been more or less exposed to these, but that they have as yet generally adopted almost none.

177 The extent to which new materials and objects will be accepted and the
435 rate of adoption depend on preferability and availability. Preferability, in turn, depends in the Indian mind on many factors of which functional adaptation, esthetic appreciation, and expense (in the broadest sense) are most important. Steel-cutting implements are not better on grounds of esthetics or of expense, but they are so greatly better on functional grounds that they are incomparably preferable. Beads have little functional preferability and are extremely expensive, but they are so preferable esthetically that they are highly acceptable. Tin or enamel pots have some but not pronounced functional advantage, they are generally considered inferior esthetically, but they are sometimes cheaper than native ware for the same purpose (i.e., they often cost fewer hours of labor, whether obtained directly for labor or in exchange for other products of labor). Dresses do not, in the native mind, or do only to very slight extent, perform any useful function and they are very expensive, but they are eagerly accepted on esthetic (and in part more broadly social, but still psychological rather than material) grounds.

These considerations work both ways, of course, that is they may impede as well as promote the acceptance of innovations. Good native basketry is expensive (in labor) even to its own maker and objects as good or better functionally

177 could be obtained more cheaply by trade, but as yet no such replacement has
435 even begun because the native basketry is greatly preferred on grounds of esthetics and custom. All articles of trade are expensive and it is exceptional for them to be less so than a native article, so that this is a constant barrier to their acceptability and in general they will not be adopted unless strongly preferable functionally, esthetically, or in both these respects.

177 The outcome of innovation is conditioned by the balance of relative acceptability and availability. With such imperfect and difficult contact with the outer world, many things that would otherwise be acceptable cannot be obtained, or not in sufficient quantity. New articles filling an essential function naturally cannot and will not entirely replace articles already serving that function unless a supply equal to the demand continues over a considerable period. Flint and steel (that is, the essential import for this combination) has been available in sufficient quantities and over a sufficient period entirely to replace the fire-drill, to such an extent that fire making would now be impossible here if the supply of steel were permanently stopped. Matches are decidedly more acceptable than flint and steel, even on the score of expense, but their supply is not now and will not be for a long time sufficient to bring about total replacement.

177 It is under these conditions that materials and objects belonging to dif-
178 ferent culture levels but serving essentially the same purpose survive simultaneously. Matches have not driven out flint and steel, firearms have not replaced blowguns and bows, and enamelware has not replaced native pottery. In all these cases, and others, there is no doubt that the innovations will totally replace the surviving older articles in the natural course of events when the supply becomes adequate. Other articles that would doubtless be acceptable if supplied are still practically without any use (even in cases where they are known) because the supply is so nearly nil. Iron nails and other manufactured building materials, imported foodstuffs, domestic transport and food animals (except chickens), and many other things are in this class.

The Present Trend and the Future

The broad trend all over the Americas has been and still is for cultures ultimately European in main outlines to affect the aboriginal cultures more and more intimately and finally to absorb them. In doing so, the European cultures have always adopted more or less from the native cultures and have themselves everywhere received a distinctive American flavor not merely because of independent evolution in this hemisphere but also because of direct heritage from the Indians. This influence is very noticeable in Venezuela where European civilization has mixed intimately with that of the Indians and produced a distinctive Venezuelan culture with many aboriginal elements surviving even in

177 the thoroughly civilized centers, but the European elements are so much more
178 numerous that Indian culture has there quite disappeared as such.

This trend has occasionally been checked or reversed temporarily, but in
[174] the long run it seems to be inevitable. If Fray Ramón Bueno's Camaracotos were the ancestors of our Kamarakotos, they had in some respects been as much affected by European culture by 1800 as they have again now, and in the meantime reverted to a definitely more aboriginal condition. Whether true of this tribe or not, such was the history of some tribes as the conquistadors and missionaries advanced in the Orinoco Basin and then retreated again. Now another forward movement is well under way and the usual forward trend is re-established and is likely to be permanent.

000 Supposing that this trend continues, as it will unless checked by unpredictable disaster, the eventual complete "Venozolanization" of the Kamarakotos is inevitable in the usual, unguided course of social evolution, a result that means the certain extinction of Kamarakoto culture and the possible extinction of the Kamarakotos themselves, surely the loss of their identity. This final result can hardly eventuate before Kamarata is reached by wheeled traffic, of which there is already some prospect but which is not very likely in the visible future. The end may thus be slow in coming, but it appears inevitable.

Apart from any sentimental considerations, it will be deplorable, indeed tragic, if this natural process is allowed to go on without check or guidance. On humanitarian, social, and economic grounds, it is strongly desirable in the first place that Kamarakoto culture (and these remarks apply to all of the many other tribes in a similar situation) should not be uprooted faster than the Kamarakotos can adapt themselves to new ways. This uprooting is the "natural" event and it is one that the usual agencies, religious[235] and civil, often promote rather than prevent. In the second place it is no less desirable that the useful and admirable elements of Kamarakoto culture, which will in the ordinary way disappear just as completely as the undesirable elements and probably sooner than the latter, should be saved and perpetuated.

In the promotion of health, civilization has at least an antidote to offer against the new diseases that it will introduce, and it could considerably im-
[731] prove the present mortality record of the Kamarakotos. It can also guard them against famines such as are said to have occurred infrequently in the past. Aside from these points, it is hard to see how the Indians stand to gain anything by
[511] being "civilized." They are remarkably happy now, poverty is unknown, and hunger and misery are not the common lot but rare historic occurrences. The Kamarakotos already know thoroughly well how to live in their own environment. No white man can teach them: on the contrary, if white men attempt to colonize and to become self-supporting in this region they are sure to find that they can do so at present only by learning the technique from the Indians. I think no impartial observer would deny that the average Kamarakoto is now mentally

235 [see footnote on p. 334, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 281]

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177 direct European influence.
407

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
199 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

1 [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
2 [i.e. chickens - Analyst]
3 [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
4 [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]